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The Mountains

133 [311] The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[11] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

[132] Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 ●185 [311] [233] [175] Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article in *Soil Conservation*, holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc-

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[12] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel.

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy.

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries.

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[13] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco.

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

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Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages.

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks.

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea.

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun.

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains.

> Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

[1] [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

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to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests.

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in.

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The

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peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep, which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peasant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

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governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither.

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws.

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues."[4]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior.

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

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what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others. They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more education, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage. Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women, for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

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tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned.

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Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities.

[185]

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments.

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A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II.

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In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev-

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000 "Oikismos-astyphilia" (Housing and Urbanism), *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Large Greek Encyclopaedia), X (Athens, 1934), 412–413; and Angelike Chatzemichale, "Architektonike" (Architecture), *ibid.*, pp. 826–827. See also G. A. Megas, *The Greek House. Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

12. Papaspyropoulos, "Folklore of Kleitoria."

13. Megas, *The Greek House*, pp. 6, 8.

Chapter IV. Land as a Birthright

1. Figures for size of farm are taken from *Statistical Summary of Greece, 1954*. These figures differ somewhat from those quoted in *Greece Today* (August 1954), which is published monthly by the National Bank of Greece and Athens. The latter places 27 percent of the farms at less than 2.5 acres and 57.5 percent between 2.5 and 12.5 acres. See also *Labour Problems in Greece: Report of the Mission of the International Labour Office to Greece*, Oct.–Nov. 1947 (Geneva, 1949).

[776] 2. Anyone familiar with Greek mythology will find it tempting to try to link the peasant's present attachment to his land with the folk beliefs about "the mistress of the world," which J. C. Lawson, in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910), links with Demeter or Kore, or both. "She is a real person, not the personification of any natural force. The tiller of the land foresees his yearly gain from cornfield and vineyard; the shepherd on the mountainside expects the yearly increase of his flock; but by neither is any principle inferred therefrom, much less is such a principle personified; the blessing which rests on field and fold is the work of a living goddess' hand" (p. 89). Even more to the point may be the early belief in the earth as the mother because she is the fruit bearer. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 1912), pp. 166–167.

Conceivably, these cultural survivals could explain part of the hold on many peasants of the belief that land is sacred, that it should be kept as a family heritage, that it is the source of life's security; but this would not help us understand the regional variations in Greece today or the differing points of view between the older and younger generations within the same region. Obviously, economic considerations are greatly altering the picture.

[186] 3. Another point needing further study in the Greek villages is the degree to which the seeming attachment to the soil is really that or, instead, a strong sense of localism, an attachment to a *place*. The travelers for generations through Greece have commented on this localism, which found its early expression in the city-state as opposed to an over-all *imperium*. It is possible that with many Greek peasants this localistic spirit, such as that noted for Epirus, is based on psychological attachments to things and persons quite apart from the soil.

4. See Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

[245] [185] [583] 5. Bruce Lansdale reminded me that the farmer who puts in a vineyard is probably thinking in terms of his children more than himself and that the man who puts in an olive tree is probably thinking in terms of his grandchildren. In certain areas of Greece it is customary to plant a tree for the dowry of the daughter. There are also differences in attitudes toward land between the native peasant and the refugee from Asia Minor, for many refugees do not yet have the actual deed to their land.

[175] 6. What happened in Epirus under the Turks must have occurred in many parts of Greece. When the Turks first overran Epirus, the villages were independent, but the Turkish government placed a Turkish military protector in charge of a locality. This official said: "In order for us to keep you secure, you have to pay 10 percent in kind." Then it rose to 15, 20, and even up to 33 percent. When the peasants could not pay these high taxes, the officials took over the land and became large land-

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"gligbord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one.

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants.

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest.

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations.

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too different from each other for that.

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an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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619 to fight for it against overwhelming odds—they cite the evidence of the ancient
829 Greek Battle of Marathon, of the revolution against the Turks, and of the
181 refusal to give in to the Italians during World War II; the love of freedom in all spheres to the point of unwillingness to take orders from anyone—"Twelve Greeks, thirteen Captains," they say; cleverness and guile—they cite Odysseus and the success of Greek merchants the world over; the love of talk and of political conversation in particular—they cite Aristotle's comments on man as a political animal and illustrate his point by referring to the coffeehouse talk in Vasilika; the love of adventure, of *peripetyes*, of risk—they cite their preference for the Odyssey over the Iliad because the Odyssey has more vicissitudes; the hospitality extended to strangers often at the expense of the [776] family—they cite *Ksenios Zefs* (Zeus, the patron of strangers) and the sheltering of individuals during the German occupation. This list does not exhaust the Greek qualities the villagers assign themselves. But the qualities [173] and the examples given are included to show that the people of Vasilika think of themselves as Greeks with a set of ethnic characteristics which they believe they have shared with the inhabitants of the country in historical continuity from classical Greek times, through Byzantium, into the present.

For a volume on a modern Greek village to refer in the first chapter to ancient Greek tragedy and to end with a reference to the sense of kinship the villagers have with the ancient Greeks is peculiarly fitting. Although the classi- [185] cal Greeks are by no means in the forefront of the villagers' consciousness, and [173] although their understanding of the details of the classical age is incomplete, the knowledge that "Greece brought light to the world" contributes to the villagers' faith in their own ability to develop themselves and their country. The people of Vasilika are proud of being Greeks and they want very much to achieve *proödhos* (progress) for their families, for their village, and for the glory that is Greece.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 tions with higher authority, promote their own careers, and
661 enjoy the amenities of Athenian existence. But in the meantime much that should have been done remained undone.

Senior officials and ministers were harrassed by incredible numbers of papers requiring their signature or countersignature; they were harrassed even more by the crowds of petitioners who stood outside every door and not infrequently pushed their way inside to watch for a chance to seize the great man's attention. Subordinates, on the other hand, seldom would or could take any initiative themselves, but referred everything to higher authority, where the papers added to the jam at the top.

185 Perhaps the greatest weakness of the whole system was that
727 officialdom shared the intellectual and technical deficiencies of
647 the politicians. In the general confusion and pressure of daily
433 business, no one had time or opportunity to try to think in long terms, measure the economic and other needs of the country, and attempt to establish some sort of priority among them, so that a beginning, however modest, could be made toward repairing some of the disbalances and defects of Greek society. Perhaps the magnitude of the problems and the sheer inadequacy of Greek resources to cope with most of them made such calculations impracticable. But it was also true that the officials of the Greek government were not accustomed to thinking in such terms, and tended to assume that problems of this nature should be left to solve themselves by the spontaneous action of private citizens, within the framework of traditional patterns of living. In proportion as the physical and psychological basis of such a traditional framework had been destroyed by the war, this assumption was no longer valid; but few, indeed, in the turmoil of the civil administration realized this fact, and fewer were ready, intellectually or morally, to try to move into the gaps thus created in the social structure, and attempt to put the scattered fragments back into some sort of working order.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Under the circumstances, then, nothing like an efficient administration confronted the Communist challenge. Private citizens, who were unable to get satisfaction from officials, even when they knew their claims were right and just, were not encouraged to feel any special loyalty to the regime; and a government which was able to do so little to remedy the general disorganization of economic and social life gave color to the Communists' claim that they and they alone could solve the country's problems. 647 727 433

There were, nevertheless, some persons who were attempting to devise plans for the economic and social stabilization of the country. Some held government positions, some were unemployed or semi-employed engineers and the like. Perhaps the most influential circle was that associated with the UNRRA Mission to Greece, which, in addition to delivering relief supplies to the country, had attempted to rehabilitate the nation as well. The time and the funds allocated to UNRRA proved grossly inadequate to rehabilitate Greece, but studies and plans made by UNRRA, to discover what could and should be done to put the country back on its feet, had at least the virtue of turning some men's minds to the long-term problem. Some of these plans, and some of the personnel that helped draw them up, later played a part in the United States aid program. 185● 727 433 648

Apart from this historical connection, one can say that even in the darkest days of 1947, when Communist victory seemed far from improbable, there did exist on the fringes of Greek official life a small number of persons who had begun to think in terms that might effectively meet the Communist challenge. Planners and statisticians, engineers and economists – men who conceived the task of the government to include efforts to shape economic and social development in such a fashion as to relieve the poverty of the nation – did exist. They were, however, far removed from the real centers of power and authority in the 185 727 433 669

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government. Unassisted, they would certainly not have been able to do anything effective to overcome the Communist menace.

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To sum up: The nature of Greek society and the shortcomings of the Greek government, together with the constellation of international relations in 1946 and 1947, made Communist revolution possible, indeed probable. But the injection of a massive new force, United States aid, changed the direction of events and prevented that consummation. The activity of the American aid missions will therefore be the subject of the next chapter. [648]

[PP. 33-84 not Processed]

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. 476
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 621
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built [345]
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [533]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [735]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [314]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation [185]
project which was started by this group has led to the development [526]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village
planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibi lity toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the provinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

abstract calculation, is meaningless to people for whom experience is body-patterned. More than this, such plans represent external limits and directives, and to this extent are hampering and even frightening. Charts and diagrams are now common in Greek books, but the lineal diagram as a blueprint of action is not within the framework of Greek life; the nearest most Greeks come to a diagram is a map, which is diagrammatic of something concrete. Foresight is good, and is extolled in proverbs; preparation is always present. But this is following along a known trail, repeating a known pattern with all its steps. For example, when a girl is 10 or 12, she may start working on her dowry; a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth. But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life, to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave. In the same way, a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation. The planning is internal, arising from the rhythm of life; it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform. 178 185

This attitude presents difficulties, such as, for example, in industrialization in the area of food processing. Greek farmers will not deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule; they will use what they need and deliver the surplus. But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without supported expectations. 178 [185]

Again, Greeks are motivated by demonstrated, concrete results, not by diagrams of future benefits, or by statistics. The great success of the DDT programme was due to its quick, clear, obvious results. Much of the success of new practices initiated under the auspices of the Near East Foundation may also be attributed to their principle of demonstration. [144]

Another attitude concerned with the introduction of change is that of coping with what is there. Americans are ready to change anything that does not measure up to specifications, or even anything that can be exchanged for something more efficient, more convenient, newer. Greeks accustom themselves to inconveniences and cope with them; they do not do away with them. Greeks, after a visit to the United States, see their countrymen putting up with the same difficulties, the same time-wasting operations, the same discomforts, but when they ask: "Why don't you do something about it?" they are immediately branded American. Anything that still works can always be patched up and used; a chipped dish can still hold food, a suit may have a few spots and still be clean, a woman may have a number of ills and still have health, and people can still travel when the steamships are crowded three times their capacity, and cannot provide the beds for which the passengers have paid; why make a change? As there is no superlative, so there are not exclusive oppositives, and one learns to cope with the common ailments, the common inconveniences. So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 Ml Middle East
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The financial system of the sickness insurance scheme would be that of assessment, although provision is made for contingency reserves. Users of medical services could be required to pay certain fees, if abuses threatened to upset the scheme's finances. Pension insurance would have a mixed financial system : contributions would not equal the average actuarial premium but are intended to balance income and payments for a generation. Sizable reserves would be accumulated in the early years, which would be invested largely in loans to sickness insurance for the construction of health facilities.

To permit the necessary construction of health facilities and training of personnel, the Bill contemplates introduction of the scheme by stages. The first stage would see the setting up of pension insurance in one or two regions for employees in establishments employing five or more workers. Thereafter, as more and more hospitals and dispensaries are built, insured persons and employers are registered, and contribution and benefit machinery is developed, sickness insurance would be introduced and the whole scheme would gradually be extended to new regions and to the smaller establishments.

The Bill requires both benefit and contribution amounts to be modified by regulation whenever the average of wages received by industrial employees moves up or down by 20 per cent.

The new insurance benefits, in principle, would replace obligations imposed on individual employers by existing Egyptian legislation concerning workmen's compensation, sick pay, maternity pay and provision of medical care. In furnishing benefits under the new scheme, the administrative agency would be authorised to contract with employers for the use of health facilities already developed by the latter.

The adoption of the 1950 law on non-contributory pensions will very likely result in a postponement of the introduction of compulsory social insurance for industrial and commercial workers. Furthermore, the original plan will probably be reconsidered in order to bring it into line with the non-contributory pension scheme.

Progress of Reform in Greece

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Greece has for 16 years had a comprehensive social security statute which has already been in force for 13 years. Hence, its situation is quite different from that of most Near and Middle East countries which have yet to enact their first general social insurance law. Greece faces instead, on the one hand, the problem of reforming and reconstructing its existing scheme and, on the other hand, a need for further extension of measures already taken.

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 M1 Middle East
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The need for reform is due in part to the serious disorganisation which the Greek scheme suffered during the war and its aftermath, including the very severe inflation which made pre-war benefits completely inadequate. It is also due to the excessively complex structure of Greek social insurance inherited from the pre-war period. This complexity is traceable to historical factors. The existence of many scores of separate social insurance institutions—with diverse but sometimes overlapping scope and dissimilar coverage of risks, qualifying conditions, benefit formulae and financial arrangements—has made at least some measure of rationalisation and unification imperative. In addition, the scheme is not yet applied in all regions of the country, does not apply to agriculture at all, and lacks many of the facilities needed for effective provision of health benefits. Moreover, the incidence of tuberculosis in Greece has placed a special burden on certain parts of the scheme.

The Office sent a mission to Greece in 1947 to study Greek labour laws, including those dealing with social insurance. The report of this mission, submitted to the Greek Government in March 1948, contained a number of recommendations for the modification of the social insurance provisions then in effect.

Subsequently, a new administrator of the Central Social Insurance Institution (I.K.A.) was appointed to improve its operations and effect a reorganisation of Greek social insurance. This administrator introduced many changes in the organisation and benefits of the central fund and has developed plans for substantial enlargement of the medical services of the fund, particularly as regards hospitals and other health centres. He also developed a plan for comprehensive reorganisation of Greek social insurance as a whole which would involve extensive unification of administrative organisation, benefit provisions and financing. This plan has been submitted to the Government for consideration.

A somewhat different plan for the reform of Greek social insurance was prepared during the same period by a committee of officials of the Greek Ministry of Labour and was submitted to the Government in a report completed in August 1949. Yet a third set of proposals was developed and made public by the Greek General Federation of Labour late in 1949.

Each of the plans referred to above recognises the need for modifying and unifying existing measures in a considerable degree. They differ, however, as to the desirable extent and circumstances of the unification to be effected in respect of benefits, finance and administration. The various proposals were under consideration by a Cabinet Committee in mid-1950.